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ABSTRACT

This study reveals the processes of language erosion and maintenance as they are affected by ethnicity and ethnic group interaction based on a 1976 survey of two communities in Wales, one largely anglicized and the other largely Welsh-speaking. Following a brief description of basic linguistic ability (speaking and reading) in the two communities, a detailed account of the variation of linguistic usage within contexts or domains is presented. Attitudes toward language retention and the perception of linguistic decline are examined in terms of the respondents' age, length of residence, occupation, and Welsh-speaking ability. The subjective aspects of ethnic identification in these groups are explored, including the relationship of the respondents' stated nationality to their place of birth, length of residence, ability to speak Welsh, religious denomination, age, and occupation. Conclusions regarding ethnic identity and language maintenance in these communities to date and in the future are outlined. (MSE)

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LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE, EROSION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Stephen Wyn Williams

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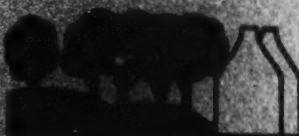
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No. 6

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Language Maintenance,
Erosion and Ethnic Identity

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"In considering. . . . the fascinating psychic problem, as to how far those of us who are ignorant of Welsh can appropriate to ourselves the Welsh Inheritance, it is at least desirable that every Anglo-Welshman should decide in his own mind what it is that he wants most to draw upon amid his few drops of Welsh blood and his smattering of Welsh tradition".

(John Cowper Powys)

1. Introduction

The twin processes of language erosion and language maintenance are complex and multifaceted phenomena. It is not surprising, therefore, that social scientists have utilised a variety of theoretical viewpoints and empirical materials in attempting to furnish an adequate explanatory account of language change.⁽¹⁾ At one extreme the emphasis is on structural properties of social systems in determining the direction and rate of linguistic change. The influence of large scale processes such as urbanisation, industrialisation and various political interventions are characteristic of this approach, whereby changes in a language over space and time are interpreted in a 'top-down' fashion. At the other extreme the locus of explanation resides in the social psychology of groups with particular emphasis being placed on the relationship between language erosion/maintenance, ethnicity and ethnic group interaction. Although an adequate explanatory account of a concrete empirical situation would require the integration of both theoretical positions the analysis contained in the present paper effectively brackets the structural properties of social systems in explaining language maintenance and erosion. Instead, attention is focused on those

factors which are influential in promoting language shift at the group level.⁽²⁾

The study is based on a survey carried out in the summer of 1976 in two linguistically contrasted communities in mid-Wales (see Figure 1). Llanon, a predominantly Welsh speaking community, is located on the coast road approximately ten miles to the south of Aberystwyth. Caersws, in contrast, is largely anglicized and lies five miles to the west of Newtown. Interviewing was carried out on a household basis with 100 and 101 respondents eventually being contacted in Llanon and Caersws respectively.

Tables 1 and 2 contain basic linguistic for the two relevant parishes. Although in 1981 the parish of Llansantffraid contained a substantially higher proportion of Welsh speakers than Llanwnnog, during the last two intercensal periods the former parish has experienced the greater decrease in the Welsh speaking percentage. Amongst the Welsh speaking population in both parishes there are clearly significant differences in the ability to read/write Welsh and speak Welsh, although as would be expected this is less apparent in Llansantffraid than in Llanwnnog.

Table 1. Welsh speaking 1951-1981 (in percentage)

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>
Llansantffraid (Llanon)	85.4	83.7	75.3	68.1
Llanwnnog (Caersws)	32.4	28.6	25.4	21.0

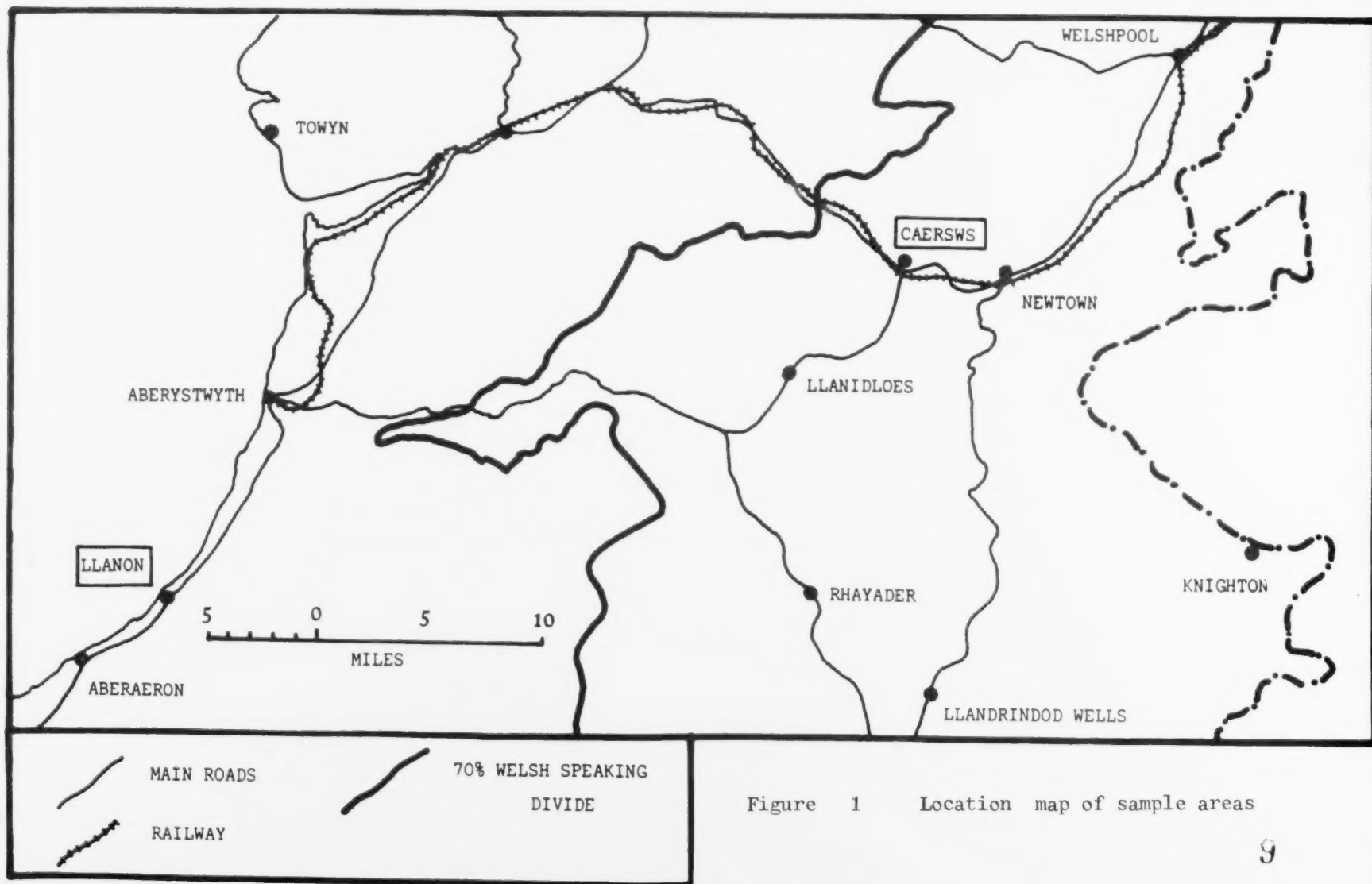


Figure 1 Location map of sample areas

Table 2. Reading and writing ability in Welsh
.(as a percentage of Welsh speakers)

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>
Llansantffraid (Llanon)	88.0	87.1
Llanwnnog (Caersws)	63.6	65.2

The survey results reported in this paper are discussed under four main themes. Following a brief description of basic linguistic ability in the two communities (in terms of both speaking and reading), the next section contains a fairly detailed account of how linguistic usage varies over particular contexts or domains. The last two sections focus more closely on attitudinal and subjective aspects of language decline and ethnic identification.

2. Patterns of Linguistic Ability

From the figures contained in Table 3 it is possible to conclude that at the time of the survey Llanon was still overwhelmingly Welsh in speech despite the in-migration of non-Welsh speakers in recent years. If the respondents contained in categories six and seven are termed fluent speakers while those in categories one and two are those respondents without any ability, then 78.2% of the Llanon sample could be classified as fluent Welsh speakers compared with 24.0% in Caersws (these figures are broadly in accord with the parish data). At the other end of the scale 67% of the respondents in Caersws had no ability

to speak Welsh compared with 16.9% in Llanon, and of this figure only 2% were born in Wales in Llanon compared with 45% in Caersws.

Table 3. Patterns of linguistic ability
Llanon and Caersws

		<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
A	1. Not Welsh speaking (English born)	14.9	22.0
	2. Not Welsh speaking (Welsh born)	2.0	45.0
	3. Odd word	1.0	5.0
B	4. Simple sentences	2.0	2.0
	5. Parts of conversations	2.0	2.0
C	6. Most conversations	7.9	4.0
	7. Native speaker	70.3	20.0
		(n = 100)	(n = 101)

In attempting to summarize some of the main factors influencing Welsh speaking in the two samples, Welsh speaking was recognised against a number of independent variables which it was hypothesized would have an effect on the ability to speak Welsh. Although the data do not strictly satisfy the assumption of the regression model it was felt that these reservations would not preclude such an analysis, insofar as the purpose of the analysis was to produce an ordering of the independent variables, rather than the development of a predictive model.

From the correlation coefficients displayed in Table 4 only three variables were significantly correlated with ability to speak Welsh in Llanon: place of birth, length of residence and occupation. The first two variables reveal a negative relationship while the latter was positive. The inverse relationship between place of

birth and ability to speak Welsh, in substantive terms, means that ability to speak Welsh decreases with a decrease in the degree of localism. Similarly with length of residence: ability to speak Welsh decreases with fewer years spent in the local area. The positive correlation with occupation suggests that there is a positive association between Welsh speaking and manual occupations. Other positive but non-significant correlations suggest that ability to speak Welsh increases with age. Other negative non-significant correlations suggest that there is a weak inverse relationship between Welsh identity and Welsh speaking; that ability to speak Welsh is inversely related to more years spent in full time education; and that Welsh speaking is not necessarily coterminous with non-conformity.

In the Caersws sample there were only two significant correlations and both were positive - age (interpreted in the same manner as in Llanon) and religion which in this case suggests that Welsh speaking is positively related to non-conformity. The only positive relationship was with occupation and revealed the same relationship as was apparent in Llanon. Other negative but non significant correlations were with education, place of birth and length of residence.

The variables contained in Tables 4 and 5 were used as input into a forward stepwise multiple linear regression analysis with Welsh speaking as the dependent variable. In Llanon (see Table 6)

Table 4 : Welsh speaking - Correlation matrix for Llanon (Kendall's Tau)

	Age	Education	Place of birth	Length of residence	Occupation	Nationality	Religion	Language
Age (old = high)	1.0	-.251***	-.105	-.268***	-.022	-.094	-.003	.096
Education (18 yrs or more = high)		1.0	.139	.165**	-.474***	-.112*	.049	-.065
Place of birth (local = low)			1.0	.506***	-.172**	-.065	.139	-.612***
Length of residence (10 yrs or more = high)				1.0	-.084	.097	.068	-.378***
Occupation (manual = high)					1.0	.057	-.055	.135*
Nationality (Welsh = low)						1.0	.069	-.060
Religion (noncon = high)							1.0	-.083
Language (Welsh = high)								1.0

*** Significant at the .001 level

** Significant at the .01 level

* Significant at the .05 level

Table 5 : Welsh speaking - Correlation matrix for Caersws (Kendall's Tau)

	Age	Education	Place of birth	Length of residence	Occupation	Nationality	Religion	Language
Age (old = high)	1.0	-.263***	.082	-.019	.050	.066	-.066	.142*
Education (18 yrs or more = high)		1.0	-.080	.069	-.215***	-.150**	-.003	-.098
Place of birth (local = low)			1.0	.472***	-.140*	.058	.096	-.062
Length of residence (10 yrs or more = high)				1.0	-.085	.037	.156**	-.017
Occupation (Manual = high)					1.0	.017	-.036	.059
Nationality (Welsh = low)						1.0	-.094	-.072
Religion (Noncon = high)							1.0	.107*
Language (Welsh = high)								1.0

*** Significant at the .001 level

** Significant at the .01 level

* Significant at the .05 level

place of birth, length of residence and nationality together account for 38.2% of the total variance in Welsh speaking. The signs of the regression coefficients indicate that in terms of Welsh speaking the relationship is negative, that is, the variables are accounting for the non-occurrence of Welsh speaking. Place of birth and length of residence can be fairly easily understood and the contribution of these variables may be interpreted in a similar way to the associated simple correlation coefficients. However, nationality, although only contributing marginally to the total variance is interesting in that Welsh nationality is not a *sine qua non* for Welsh speaking and suggests that 'Welshness' and Welsh speaking in certain instances are related but distinct concepts.

Table 6. Multiple regression of Welsh speaking - Llanon

	Simple 'r'	Multiple 'r'	R ²	'B' Value
Place of birth	-.612	.612	.375	-.801
Length of residence	-.378	.617	.381	-.115
Nationality	-.060	.618	.382	-.102
Education	-.065	.619	.383	.211
Occupation	.135	.621	.386	.065
Age	.096	.622	.387	.047

In Caersws the overall level of explanation with all variables in the equation is considerably lower than in Llanon (Table 7) with only 5.2% of the total variance being explained. However, the ordering of the variables provide some interesting insights. In contrast to Llanon, the signs of the first two variables are positive and account for the occurrence of Welsh speaking. The first variable entered into the equation was age and its importance

in this instance tends to reflect the general view that in many areas (particularly anglicized), ability to speak Welsh is being increasingly confined to the middle and older age groups. The second ranking variable in Caersws was religion. In Llanon this variable was not included in the final equation due to its low level of significance. In Caersws it would appear that despite the removal of the Welsh language from the formal religious domain, Welsh speakers were still strongly attached to the non-conformist church (the traditional institutional stronghold of the Welsh language), more so than their counterparts in Llanon. However, this is related to density of Welsh speakers in two areas. It may be the case that due to the ubiquity of Welsh speaking in Llanon, Welsh speaking individuals do not feel the need for formal institutional support, whereas in Caersws, where Welsh speakers are clearly in a minority, institutional support is still important in maintaining a group identity. Place of birth was the third ranking variable and supports the evidence found in Llanon that localism is an important factor in explaining the maintenance of the Welsh language-even in an anglicized area. Nationality again reveals an inverse relationship with Welsh speaking and underlines the view that Welsh identity and Welsh speaking are not necessarily the same thing, and that one may exist in an area without the other.

Table 7. Multiple regression of Welsh speaking - Caersws

	Simple 'r'	Multiple 'r'	R ²	'B' Value
Age	.142	.142	.020	.193
Religion	.107	.184	.034	.144
Place of birth	-.062	.204	.041	-.164
Nationality	-.071	.218	.047	-.197
Education	-.098	.225	.051	-.221
Occupation	.059	.228	.051	.040
Length of residence	-.017	.228	.052	.020

In terms of reading ability the figures contained in table 8 reveal that in comparison with ability to speak Welsh, the difference between the two samples is much reduced. Thus, 51.5% of the respondents in Llanon stated they could read Welsh as well as or better than English compared with 19.0% of the Caersws sample (the respective Welsh speaking proportions for Llanon and Caersws were 70.3% and 20.0%). Similarly, 17.8% of the respondents in Llanon stated they could not read Welsh compared with 16.9% who said they could not speak Welsh. However, in Caersws 63% of the respondents reported they were unable to read Welsh compared with 67% who said they could not speak Welsh.

Table 9 reveals the relationship which exists between ability to read Welsh and ability to speak Welsh. In Llanon all respondents who were fluent speakers were also able to read Welsh, while 95.7% were able to do so in Caersws. Interestingly 5.0% of those who had no reading ability in Llanon stated they were fluent speakers. None of the respondents in Caersws fell in this category.

Table 8. Reading ability in Welsh for Caersws and Llanon

	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
1. No ability	17.8	63.0
2. A few words	2.0	5.0
3. With much help	4.0	7.0
4. Read with some help	8.9	2.0
5. Read with almost no help	15.8	4.0
6. Read Welsh as well as or better than English	51.5	19.0

Table 9. The relationship between ability to read Welsh and ability to speak Welsh - Llanon and Caersws

		<u>Fluent speaker</u>	<u>Some ability</u>	<u>No ability</u>
No reading ability	Llanon	5.0	10.0	85.8
	Caersws	0.0	4.4	95.6
Some ability	Llanon	76.9	23.1	0.0
	Caersws	22.2	55.6	22.2
Able to read	Llanon	100.0	0.0	0.0
	Caersws	95.7	4.3	0.0

In general, the difference between reading ability and speaking ability may be interpreted as being a stage in language decline.

As Bowen and Carter have written:

"Where the Welsh cultural tradition is becoming attenuated, where doubts are felt as to the 'value' of the language in commercial terms, where, in summary, a variety of other ends are deemed more important than facility in Welsh, then it can be argued that the spoken language might well be acquired on the hearth but there will be no motivation toward attaining a high standard. . . (in the reading of Welsh)".³

The figure of 19.0% for Caersws, which is not greatly different to the speaking percentage, may be due to the fact that the language is confined to a small literate group of individuals, or possibly,

in a predominantly English speaking environment the standard for comparison is lower and therefore people tend to overstate their ability.

In Llanon ability to read Welsh increases steadily with age. Thus, 71.0% of the 65+ age category were able to read Welsh (ability to read Welsh being defined as categories five and six in Table 8), compared with 64.1% and 67.7% in the 18-44 and 45-64 age group (as was speaking ability), 31.6% compared with 13.9% and 23.1% in the 18-44 and 65+ age groups respectively. This tends to reflect the situation that the older section of the population was educated at a time when English was the exclusive medium in schools and Welsh was expressly forbidden. This situation does not obtain in Llanon due to the fact that in a predominantly Welsh speaking area the language did not depend for its survival on its position within the school, as other forms of linguistic support existed within the community (the chapels, for example).

In relation to reading ability and occupation, in Llanon 64.8% of the non-manual group were able to read Welsh compared with 72.5% in the manual group. In Caersws the reverse was found to be the case. 27.6% of the non-manual group were able to read Welsh compared with 20.0% in the manual group, this is broadly in accord with the frequency of Welsh speaking. Finally, in relation to reading ability and education an inverse relationship between ability to read Welsh and length of time spent in full time

education was found in Llanon. Thus, 69% of those respondents who left school at the age of fifteen could read Welsh compared with 60% who left full time education at the age of eighteen or above. In Caersws, the situation was similar with 26% of those who left school at fifteen being able to read Welsh, while 15.8% and 0.0% of those leaving full time education at the age of 16-17 and 18+ were able to do so.

The following supplementary comments report an aspect of the survey which recorded readership levels amongst Welsh speakers of Welsh newspapers, periodicals and books.

In Llanon newspapers were read by 29.5% of the 45-64 age group, compared with 24.0% and 12.9% in the 65+ and 18-44 age groups respectively. Periodicals, however, were most popular with the 18-44 group, 22.5% of whom said they read them frequently compared with 18.8% in the 45-64 group and 12.0% in the 65+ group. This tends to reflect the age groups to which the content of such publications are directed. Welsh books, in contrast, were most frequently read in the 65+ age category, 40% reporting that they read Welsh books frequently, compared with 25.8% and 29.6% in the 18-44 and 45-64 age groups respectively.

22.7% of the non-manual Welsh speakers reported that they read Welsh language newspapers, compared with 14.7% in the manual group. This would appear to be the pattern throughout Wales:

"Although 'Y' Cymro's' circulation is now spread pretty evenly throughout Wales, this has happened only since the paper abandoned its attempts to get mass readership, going instead for the 'upper classes'". (4)

Periodicals were read most often by the manual group, 20.5% stating they read them frequently, compared with 17.7% of the non-manual group. However, only 64.4% of the non-manual group stated they never read periodicals compared with 73.5% of the manual group. As might have been anticipated Welsh books were read most frequently by the non-manual group (40% compared with 20.6%) in the manual category).

Readership levels of newspapers and periodicals were found to be inversely related to number of years spent in full time education as Table 10 illustrates, although differences between the groups are only marginal in the 'newspaper' category. However, in terms of readership levels for Welsh books frequency of reading clearly increases with number of years spent in full time education

Table 10. Readership levels by education for the Welsh speaking sample - Llanon

	<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Periodicals</u>	<u>Books</u>
Left school at 15	21.2	21.2	24.2
16-17	20.6	17.6	35.3
18+	18.8	12.5	37.5

In Caersws in all three categories (that is, newspapers, periodicals and books) the highest percentage of readers is found in the 65+ age group. Thus, 20% stated they read Welsh newspapers

frequently (compared with 10.5% and 9.1% in the 45-64 and 18-44 groups respectively); 20% stated they read periodicals frequently (compared with 5.3% and 9.1% in the 45-64 and 18-44 age groups); and 30% reported they read Welsh books frequently (5.3% in the 45-64 group and 9.1% in the 18-44 group).

Readership levels of all types of publications were highest in the non-manual group (Table 11).

Table 11. Readership levels of Welsh publications by occupation for the Welsh speaking sample - Caersws

	<u>Non-manual</u>	<u>Manual</u>
Welsh newspapers	30.8	3.8
Welsh periodicals	15.4	7.7
Welsh books	15.4	7.7

This tends to reflect the situation found in Llanon. In Caersws education did not appear to have any appreciable effect on readership levels, although fewer years in full time education appeared to be marginally related in a positive direction to readership levels. This brief survey of the reading habits of the two sample groups reveals that amongst Welsh speakers in Llanon publications in the Welsh language are read more frequently than by their counterparts in Caersws. Furthermore, in Caersws the readership is quite clearly limited to specific sections of the Welsh speaking population, particularly in terms of age and socio-economic status. This pattern tends to suggest the existence

of a small, literate Welsh speaking elite, similar to the patterns which will be discussed in the following section.

2. Domains and Patterns of Language Use

Although the enumeration of respondents according to ability to speak Welsh is an essential preliminary, more important, in terms of language erosion and maintenance, is the frequency with which Welsh is spoken in particular contexts or domains, the latter term defined as:

"large scale regularities that obtain between varieties (of speech) and societally recognised functions". (5)

For example, the home, work situation and meetings between friends represent different domains of language behaviour. In each domain one language may be habitually employed and normatively expected rather than (or in addition to) another. By analysing the use of particular languages in particular domains it is possible to identify the major areas of 'language maintenance' or 'language shift', as a bilinguals vary with respect to the number and overlap of domains in which they habitually employ each of their languages. In many areas of heartland Wales (within which Llanon may be included) diglossia and bilingualism still coexist (diglossia is where a society recognises two (or more) languages or varieties for intra-societal communication - it is the characterization of the social allocation of functions to different languages or varieties; bilingualism is essentially a characterisation of individual linguistic

versatility). Welsh is reserved for more intimate relationships and English for the more official. However, in the rest of Wales, and this is the case in Caersws, bilingualism without diglossia is the norm. That is, bilinguals "function without the benefit of a well understood and widely accepted social consensus as to which language is to be used". (6) Language usage occurs in a seemingly random pattern. Fishman continues: "thus bilingualism without diglossia tends to be transitional. . . . without separate and complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other". (7) Bilingualism without diglossia occurs in situations of rapid social change, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones. The basis of a language's ability to survive is the number of areas of life where it is, to bilingual speakers, the only accepted medium of communication: a language in a diglossia situation depends on the number of domains in which it is maintained and which it controls. Where a language lacks clearly defined or protected separate functions children become bilingual at a very early age. Formal institutions tend to make individuals increasingly monolingual in a language other than that of the hearth and home. The language of the school and government replaces the language of the home and neighbourhood because it provides status in the latter domain as well as the former.

In both samples Welsh is most frequently spoken in the home environment (see Table 12). This is broadly in accord with previous findings (8) that the home domain is more 'maintenance-prone' than others across all multilingual societies characterized by urbanization and economic development, regardless of whether immigrant-host or coindigenous populations are involved. However, the figure for Caersws is well below that of Llanon, 50% of respondents reporting that Welsh was spoken never or hardly ever. Thus, in Caersws even in the most favoured domain the Welsh language is in a minority position. This position suggests that the features of a "bilingualism without diglossia" situation are relevant in describing (if not explaining) to some extent the linguistic situation in Caersws. That is, the replacement of the language of the home and hearth by the dominant language. In relation to this however, the Welsh speaking respondents in Caersws were clearly more aware that the language has been under external pressures in recent years, than their counterparts in Llanon (see Table 13). Whereas 57.7% of the Welsh speakers in Caersws agreed that the English media has greatly affected the Welsh language, only 32.1% in Llanon agreed with the same statement. In terms of attitude towards the strengthening of the language via the media and in public appointments the Welsh speakers in Llanon were slightly more favourable towards more hours of Welsh language T.V. However, in terms of the Welsh language being used as an additional qualification in public appointments the Caersws sample (Welsh speakers) was clearly more positive in its attitude.

Table 12: Domains and Frequency of language usage amongst
amongst Welsh speakers¹

Frequency	At home		With friends		At work ²	
	Llanon	Caersws	Llanon	Caersws	Llanon	Caersws
All or most of the time	70.7	38.5	52.4	11.5	44.4	28.6
Half of the time	11.0	3.8	36.6	19.2	27.8	21.4
Occasionally	8.5	7.7	9.8	57.7	13.8	35.7
Never/hardly ever	9.8	50.0	1.2	11.5	13.8	14.3

1 Refers to those contained in categories, 5, 6 and 7 in Table 3

2 Includes only those in employment.

Table 13: Attitudes towards the Welsh language in Llanon and Caersws

Statement: English T.V., radio and newspapers have contributed greatly to the decline of the Welsh language.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree Strongly
Llanon (Welsh speakers)	2.5	45.7	12.3	32.1	7.4
Llanon (Total sample)	2.0	44.6	13.9	33.1	5.9
Caersws (Welsh speakers)	0.0	38.5	0.0	57.7	3.8
Caersws (Total sample)	0.0	44.0	17.0	35.0	4.0

Statement: There is a need for more hours of Welsh language T.V.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree Strongly
Llanon (Welsh speakers)	2.5	27.2	12.3	55.6	2.5
Llanon (Total sample)	2.0	26.7	12.9	56.4	2.0
Caersws (Welsh speakers)	0.0	26.9	15.4	53.8	3.8
Caersws (Total sample)	0.0	36.0	12.0	50.0	2.0

Statement: Everybody working for the local authority should be
able to speak Welsh

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree Strongly
Llanon (Welsh speakers)	0.0	25.9	2.5	63.0	8.6
Llanon (Total sample)	0.0	29.7	2.0	60.4	7.9
Caersws (Welsh speakers)	0.0	15.4	7.7	69.2	7.7
Caersws (Total sample)	0.0	34.0	11.0	53.0	2.0

The explanation of these patterns is by no means well defined. The problematical relationship between language usage and language attitudes has been clearly stated by one writer:

"We know all too little about language oriented attitudes and emotions. . . . The manifold possible relationships between language attitudes and language use. . . . remain largely unstudied at the present time".(9)

However, two possible explanations are suggested. One utilizes an analogy from the field of language planning where advocates of a language that is undergoing displacement are often much more exposed to (and identified with) the values and methods of their linguistic competitors than are their less exposed and less threatened counterparts. That is, the Welsh speakers in Caersws because of their minority position are more aware of the problems and pressures facing the Welsh language. Secondly, there is the existence of what has been called an 'attitudinal haloization' - a negative relationship over time between use rates and attitudinal positiveness. There is an increase in esteem for the language with the increased relegation of these languages to fewer and narrower domains of language use. Returning to the figures contained in Table 12, there is a clear decrease in the frequency with which Welsh is spoken in Llanon from the home domain to the work domain, but in Caersws this is not the case. Whereas 52.4% of Welsh speakers in Llanon still spoke the language all or most of the time with friends, the equivalent figure for Caersws was 11.5%. This is essentially a reflection

of the fact that the "breakdown of diglossia is most obviously in the domain - 'friends drinking tea'."⁽¹⁰⁾ That is bilingual speakers function without the benefit of a well understood and widely accepted social consensus as to which language is to be used. In Caersws this is obviously compounded by the fact that there are fewer people available able to speak Welsh. In this context the respondents attitude towards the use of Welsh when monoglot English speakers are present would appear to be relevant.

Table 14: Attitude towards the use of Welsh in the company of English monoglot speakers

Statement: Welsh people should not speak Welsh in the company of English people.

	<u>Agree</u> <u>Strongly</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u> <u>Strongly</u>
Llanon (Welsh speakers)	2.5	56.8	13.6	25.9	1.2
Llanon (Total sample)	2.0	55.4	12.9	28.9	1.0
Caersws (Welsh speakers)	11.5	61.5	3.8	23.1	0.0
Caersws (Total sample)	15.0	54.0	7.0	24.0	0.0

Whereas 56.8% of the Welsh speakers in Llanon agreed with the statement in Table 14 the figure for Caersws was 61.5%. This means that a substantial majority of Welsh speakers in Caersws would not use Welsh in the company of English speakers. As monoglot English speakers are in a majority most meetings in the friendship domain (in probabilistic terms) would involve English speakers.

Therefore, if 73.0% of Welsh speakers ('Agree Strongly' and 'Agree' combined) would not use Welsh in the company of English speakers the figure of only 11.5% Welsh speakers speaking Welsh all or most of the time with friends (Table 12) is not surprising.

In Llanon, the frequency with which Welsh is spoken is at its lowest in the work domain, this is the area where the language is least maintained, and illustrates the diminished usage of the Welsh language in, what may be termed formal contexts as opposed to informal contexts. The Welsh language is temporarily abandoned in favour of the dominant language (English) by which the means of production are controlled. In Caersws this position does not obtain. Whereas in Llanon there was a clear decline in the frequency of usage from the home domain to the work domain, in Caersws the frequency of language use is greater in the work domain than in the friendship domain (see Table 12). Two possible explanations for this pattern are suggested. First, that Welsh speakers in Caersws are employed in occupations which demand the use of the Welsh language (this is examined in greater detail below). Second, Welsh speaking groups which are located in a predominantly Welsh speaking environment (as in Llanon) are often more successful in establishing relatively self-contained traditional interaction patterns and social structures. However, Welsh speaking groups which are located in a predominantly English speaking environment (that is, characterized by bilingualism without diglossia) are exposed to interaction in more fragmented and specialized networks and may reveal more conscious, novel and organized attempts to preserve or revive their traditional language.

Language and occupation

The figures in Table 15 for Llanon reveal that whereas 75.9% of the non-manual group could be classified as fluent Welsh speakers, 85% of the manual group could be similarly classified. At a general level this may reflect the notion of the 'cultural division of labour', whereby the means of production are often controlled by one speech community while the productive manpower is drawn from another. At an empirical level the figures reflect the relatively recent suburbanization of the community, where 46.3% of the non-manual group had lived in Llanon for ten years or less (compared with 37.5% of the manual group). Furthermore, 24.1% of non-manual workers were born in England (15.0% for the manual group), and 88.2% of those who had lived in Llanon for less than ten years could not speak Welsh. In Caersws the position is reversed, with 27.6% of the non-manual group fluent in the Welsh language compared with 23.1% in the manual group. The reasons for this reversal are problematical, it may be posited, however, that in an area which is, linguistically, under pressure from a dominant language, ethnic consciousness or linguistic awareness is more pronounced amongst Welsh speakers in the higher socio-economic groups. Such groups may be considered an elite and hold more favourable attitudes towards the language than other recognizable subgroups in the population. The Welsh language in such circumstances is seen as a social language, not essential as a means of communication, as Roisin Pill notes:

"Language can be used as one of the bridges of an in-group"⁽¹¹⁾

Table 15: Linguistic ability and occupation

	<u>Fluent</u>	<u>Llanon</u>		<u>Fluent</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	
		<u>some ability</u>	<u>no ability</u>		<u>some ability</u>	<u>no ability</u>
Non-Manual	75.9	5.6	18.5	27.6	6.9	65.6
Manual	85.0	2.5	12.5	23.1	9.2	67.7

Table 16: Number of times the non-manual Welsh speaking group revealed a more favourable attitude towards the Welsh language, compared with selected other groups (based on nine statements)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Llanon	4	5	3	4
Caersws	5	6	7	6

Non-manual Welsh speaking compared with: (1) Total Welsh speaking sample, (2) Total sample, (3) Total non-manual, (4) Manual Welsh speaking group.

Such a view would appear to contradict Weber's notion of ethnic change, that is, under conditions of 'technical and economic transformation' the class principle should supercede the status principle. It may be the case that the resurgent ethnicity of Welsh speaking Welshmen is an attempt to renegotiate the traditional balance of power.

Table 16 provides a partial empirical test of the hypothesis that linguistic consciousness is more pronounced amongst Welsh speakers who are in the higher socio-economic groups. The statements used are those referring to the Welsh language and reproduced in Appendix 1, Table 16 reveals that in comparison

with each of the other groups analysed, the non-manual Welsh speaking group in Caersws exhibits a more favourable overall attitude to the Welsh language. The largest difference is between the non-manual Welsh speaking group and the total non-manual group, the former group displaying a more favourable attitude on seven of the nine attitude statements. The non-manual Welsh speaking group displayed a more favourable attitude on six of the nine attitude statements compared with both the total sample and with the manual Welsh speaking group. The smallest difference was between the non-manual Welsh speaking group and the total Welsh speaking sample.

Thoenes has defined an elite as:

"... a relatively small, adventitiously organized group, which legitimately or not, exercises authority, lays claim to exercise it or believes it should exercise authority over the other groups with which it maintains a relationship, usually of a political or cultural nature". (12)

This may be an excessive claim for the patterns found in Caersws, however, given the evidence in other parts of Wales that developments in, for example, the sphere of education, have largely been due to pressure by middle class Welsh speaking parents (such as the Welsh medium primary schools and bilingual secondary schools) the general acceptance of such a position would not seem unreasonable.

Table 17 Frequency of language usage and occupation
Llanon and Caersws

<u>LLANON</u>												
	<u>All or most</u> <u>of time</u>			<u>Half of time</u>			<u>Occasionally</u>			<u>Never/</u> <u>hardly ever</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>
Non-manual	65.1	48.8	38.1	14.0	37.2	28.6	9.3	14.0	9.5	11.6	0.0	23.8
Manual	76.5	52.9	50.0	8.8	41.2	28.6	9.8	2.9	21.4	5.9	2.9	0.0

<u>CAERSWS</u>												
	<u>All or most</u> <u>of time</u>			<u>Half of time</u>			<u>Occasionally</u>			<u>Never/</u> <u>hardly ever</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>
Non-manual	37.5	12.5	0.0	12.5	25.0	50.0	12.5	37.5	50.0	37.5	25.0	0.0
Manual	36.3	5.9	40.0	0.0	17.6	10.0	5.9	70.6	30.0	58.8	5.9	20.0

H = At Home, F = With Friends, W = At Work

The figures contained in Table 17 relating to occupation and language use in various domains, reveal that in Llanon patterns of usage reflect the overall situation portrayed in Table 15, that ability and usage is greatest amongst manual workers. Furthermore, both figures reflect the aggregate pattern where the Welsh language is found to be strongest in areas with high concentrations of low socio-economic groups, and weakest in areas characterized by suburbanization in general and high concentrations of high socio-economic groups in particular. Non-manual occupations tend to involve a greater degree of mixing of Welsh speaking and English speaking groups, with English generally being used more

frequently than Welsh. Thus, 33.3% of the non-manual group stated that they spoke Welsh only occasionally or never/hardly ever at work.

In Caersws the aggregate patterns found in Table 15 are not simply replicated. Whereas 37.5% of the non-manual group spoke Welsh all or most of the time in the home domain, a similar proportion of manual workers (36.3%) was found to do so as well. In the friendship domain 12.5% of the non-manual group used Welsh all or most of the time compared with 5.9% of the manual group. However, in the work domain none of the non-manual group stated that they spoke Welsh all or most of the time compared with 40% of the manual group. This, to some extent reflects the situation found in Llanon - that there is less mixing of Welsh and English speaking groups in the work domain in manual occupations in comparison with the friendship domain where networks for interaction are more open and diffuse. The reverse seems to hold for the non-manual group where 12.5% stated they spoke Welsh all or most of the time in the friendship domain (this figure rises to 37.5% for non-manual workers if the first two categories are aggregated in Table 17, and a significantly smaller figure of 23.5% for the manual group). It would appear that amongst non-manual workers Welsh is used far more as a social language. This contention is given further support by the fact that 50% of the non-manual group use the Welsh language in approximately half of the conversations at work where Welsh is not essential for

communication but say:

"...be useful in breaking down barriers and winning confidence in an initial approach as well as a means of ending discussions on a cordial personal note, but the main body of discussion is normally, by mutual consent conducted in English" (13)

Language and use

Table 18. Age and ability to speak Welsh in Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Llanon</u>			<u>Caersws</u>		
	<u>Fluent</u>	<u>Some ability</u>	<u>No ability</u>	<u>Fluent</u>	<u>Some ability</u>	<u>No ability</u>
18-44	69.2	10.3	20.5	13.9	2.8	83.3
45-64	83.9	0.0	16.1	31.6	10.5	57.9
65+	83.9	3.2	12.9	26.9	15.4	57.7

In Llanon the relationship between ability to speak Welsh and age is generally in accord with conclusions derived from the analysis of aggregate data. That is, the ability to speak Welsh is largely confined to the older age groups. Although the same percentage of respondents in both the 45-64 and 65+ categories stated they were fluent in Welsh, only 12.9% of the 65+ age group had no ability compared with 16.1% and 20.5% in the 45-64 and 18-44 categories respectively. In Caersws, however, the pattern is not clearly defined. Although the weakest age category is still the 18-44 group (only 13.9% stated they were fluent), in contrast, the strongest was the 45-64 category. Although the figure of 13.9% undoubtedly reflects the general decline in ability amongst the younger age groups, the figure also reflects

the demographic structure of that particular age category. Thus, 83.3% of the respondents in the 18-44 age group had lived in Caersws for five years or less, of these 66.7% were born in England and were unable to speak Welsh.

Table 19. Frequency of language use and age

<u>LLANON</u>												
	<u>All or most of time</u>			<u>Half of time</u>			<u>Occasionally</u>			<u>Never/ hardly ever</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>
18-44	60.0	43.3	29.4	16.7	36.7	35.2	10.0	16.7	17.6	13.3	3.3	17.6
45-64	73.1	46.2	55.5	7.7	50.0	22.2	7.7	3.8	11.1	11.5	0.0	11.1
65+	80.8	69.2	N/A	7.7	23.1	N/A	7.7	7.7	N/A	3.8	0.0	N/A

<u>CAERSWS</u>												
	<u>All or most of time</u>			<u>Half of time</u>			<u>Occasionally</u>			<u>Never/ hardly ever</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>W</u>
18-44	60.0	20.0	66.9	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	33.3	40.4	0.0	0.0
45-64	33.3	0.0	20.0	8.3	16.7	30.0	0.0	75.0	40.0	58.3	8.3	10.0
65+	33.3	22.2	N/A	0.0	22.2	N/A	22.2	33.3	N/A	44.4	22.2	N/A

In Llanon the relationship between language use and age follows the expected pattern (see Table 19). First, there is a general decrease in usage from the home domain to the work domain, and second, in each domain the frequency of usage increases with age. Once again, however, in Caersws the pattern is by no means clearly defined. The frequency of language use is most marked in the 18-44 category, 60% of this category spoke Welsh all or most

of the time at home compared with 33.3% in both the 45-64 and 65+ categories. In the friendship domain the 65+ group used the language marginally more frequently than the 18-44 group, 22.2% compared with 20.0% used it all or most of the time. However, in the work domain (no data for 65+ group) Welsh was used far more frequently in the 18-44 group (66.9% compared with 20% in the 45-64 group). The figures for language usage at work might be partially explained by the fact that 80% of the 18-44 age group were engaged in manual occupations compared with 58.3% in the 45-64 group, and as Table 17 illustrates manual workers tended to use the Welsh language more frequently in the work domain. However, this would not account for the higher frequencies in the home and friendship domain as it was found that non-manual workers tended to use the language more frequently in both these contexts. In conclusion it may be stated that members of the younger age groups reveal a greater propensity to speak Welsh in most domains. However, it may be added that groups defined in terms of age tend to be more referential in nature rather than experiential (in contrast to groups defined by occupation for example) in that reference networks may rarely exist in a physical sense.

3. Attitudes towards language retention and the perception of linguistic decline

a) Attitude towards language retention. Although, in general, the use of single items to examine attitude structures is not desirable, in the present context a single item is examined in an attempt to identify basic patterns of attitudinal variation towards language retention in the two sample groups. The following question was asked of each respondent: Which of the following statements is closely to your own opinion?

1. The preservation of the Welsh language is the most important problem facing us in Wales.
2. It is vital that the Welsh language be preserved.
3. It would be nice to preserve the Welsh language, but it is not the most important problem facing us.
4. The Welsh language will die out whatever we do.

b) Perception of linguistic decline. The following was asked of each respondent: In your opinion would you say that the amount of Welsh used in this area is:

1. Declining
2. Remaining the same
3. Increasing
4. Don't know

The summary percentages for these two questions are included in Tables 20 and 21.

The response to the first item noted above suggests (not unexpectedly) that the contemporary issue of language retention is viewed as being of greater importance by the predominantly Welsh speaking Llanon sample.

Table 20. Attitude towards language retention
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
1. Most important	9.9	4.0
2. Vital to preserve	35.6	29.0
3. Nice to preserve	52.5	62.0
4. Will die anyway	2.0	5.0

Table 21. Perception of linguistic decline
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
1. Declining	41.6	52.0
2. Remaining the same	40.6	38.0
3. Increasing	15.8	8.0
4. Don't Know	2.0	2.0

Thus, 9.9% of this sample thought that the preservation of the Welsh language was the most important problem facing Wales compared with 4.0% in Caersws. Similarly, 35.6% in Llanon felt that it was vital that the language be preserved compared with a figure of 29.0% in Caersws. In contrast, 62% in Caersws thought it would be nice to preserve the language but that it was not the most important problem while 5.0% thought the 'language would die out anyway'.

The perception of linguistic decline was most acute in Caersws. 52% were of the opinion that the language was declining (the proportional change during the period 1961-1971 in the parish of Llanwnnog was -3.2%), while only 8.0% thought the language was increasing in strength. In contrast, only 41.6% of the Llanon sample were of the opinion that the language was declining, while 15.8% thought that the language was actually increasing (the proportional change for the period 1961-1971 was -8.4% for the parish of Llansantffraid). These figures seem to suggest that awareness of the state of the language is heightened in areas where the language is weak, while awareness in areas where the language is still in a relatively strong position is less apparent.

In the following paragraphs the above questions are examined in relation to four independent variables: age, occupation, Welsh speaking and length of residence.

In Llanon the 18-44 age group displayed the most extreme range of responses. 15.4% thought that the preservation of the language was the most important problem, however 2.6% thought that the language would die out anyway, while 56.4% were of the opinion that it was not the most important problem (Table 22). The combined percentage for categories one and two was 41.0%.

Table 22. Attitude towards language retention
by age - Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Most important problem</u>		<u>Vital to preserve</u>		<u>Nice to preserve</u>		<u>Will die out anyway</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
18-44	15.4	0.0	25.6	11.1	56.4	88.9	2.6	0.0
45-64	3.2	5.3	41.9	42.1	51.6	42.1	3.2	10.5
65+	9.7	7.7	41.9	34.6	48.4	53.8	0.0	3.8

Of the 45-64 age group 3.2% felt that the preservation of the Welsh language was the most important problem facing Wales, while 3.2% also felt that the language would die out anyway. The combined percentages for categories one and two was 45%. The 65+ age group appears to have the most consistently favourable attitude towards language retention, although only 9.7% felt that it was the most important problem, the combined percentage for categories one and two was 51.6%, while none of the respondents thought the language would die out.

In Caersws, of the three age groups the 18-44 category revealed the least favourable attitude towards language retention. Although no respondent thought it would die out, 88.9% felt that it was not the most important problem facing Wales, and only 11.1% had what may be termed a favourable attitude. In contrast, the 45-64 age group displayed the most favourable attitude. Although only 5.3% thought it was the most important problem facing Wales, compared with 7.7% in the 65+ age group, the combined percentages for the first two categories in Table 22 is 47.4% and 42.3% respectively. The implication to be drawn

from these figures suggests that concern for the language, in broad terms, is most apparent in the middle and older age groups in both samples and weakest in the younger age group. This may possibly reflect the situation that in terms of linguistic ability the 45-64 and 65+ age groups (in both areas) contained a higher proportion of Welsh speakers and may therefore be presumed to possess a more favourable attitude towards the language. Another possible reason may relate to the differential awareness that may exist between the age categories in terms of problems facing Wales which are essentially non-cultural or non-linguistic in nature (for example, unemployment).

Table 23. Attitude towards language retention by occupation - Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Most important problem</u>		<u>Vital to preserve</u>		<u>Nice to preserve</u>		<u>Will die out anyway</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Non-Manual	9.3	3.4	38.9	34.5	51.9	62.1	0.0	0.0
Manual	10.0	4.6	32.9	26.2	52.5	63.1	5.0	6.2

In both Llanon and Caersws a more favourable attitude was associated with those engaged in non-manual occupations (Table 23). In Llanon, the combined percentage for the first two categories was 48.2% for the non-manual group compared with 42.9% for the manual group. Furthermore, 5.0% of the manual group felt that the language would die out while none of the non-manual respondents were of this opinion. In Caersws, the same general situation was found. The combined percentage for categories one

and two being 37.9% for non-manuals and 30.8% for manuals, while 6.2% of the manual group felt that the language would die out anyway. The higher responses recorded in the non-manual group in both Llanon and Caersws suggests that this group as a whole displays a more favourable overall attitude towards the Welsh language than the manual group. Furthermore, as was indicated earlier the Welsh speaking non-manual respondents in Caersws, in particular, revealed a more favourable overall attitude towards the language (Table 16).

Table 24. Attitude towards language retention by
Welsh speaking ability - Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Most important problem</u>		<u>Vital to preserve</u>		<u>Nice to preserve</u>		<u>Will die out anyway</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Fluent	11.4	4.2	39.1	50.0	48.1	45.8	1.3	0.0
Some ability	20.0	11.1	60.0	22.2	20.0	66.7	0.0	0.0
No ability	0.0	3.0	11.8	22.4	82.4	67.2	5.9	7.5

Table 24 reveals that in terms of the relationship between attitude towards language retention and ability to speak Welsh appreciable differences exist between the two samples. In Caersws, a favourable attitude towards language retention is clearly associated with fluent Welsh speakers. Although only 4.2% stated it was the most important problem facing Wales compared with 11.1% of those with some ability, the combined percentage for the first two categories for these language groups was 54.2% and 33.3% respectively. In Llanon, in contrast, a more favourable attitude

was associated with those who had only some ability to speak Welsh. Thus, 20% in this category thought it was the most important problem facing Wales compared with 11.4% of fluent speakers. Similarly, the combined percentage for the first two categories was 80% for Welsh speakers with some ability, compared with 50.6% for fluent speakers. Furthermore, in comparison with Llanon, in Caersws a more favourable attitude was found amongst non-Welsh speakers. 22.4% thought it was vital that the Welsh language be preserved, and 3.0% thought it was the most important problem facing Wales compared with 11.8% and 0.0% in Llanon. In Caersws the figures suggest the operation of a form of linguistic determinism, in that the combined percentages for the first two categories decreases steadily with a decrease in ability to speak Welsh. To some extent this is in accord with findings reported in previous sections where it was suggested that the Welsh speaking respondents in this sample formed a small, concerned, elite cultural group. In Llanon the reason for the high value associated with non-fluent Welsh speakers is by no means clearly defined. However, the fact that these respondents are linguistically, in a marginal position (in that they have associations with both linguistic groups) may result in a heightened awareness of the problems confronting the present day well-being of the language.

Table 25. Attitude towards language retention by
Length of residence - Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Most important problem</u>		<u>Vital to preserve</u>		<u>Nice to preserve</u>		<u>Will die out anyway</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
5 yrs	10.5	0.0	42.1	16.7	42.1	83.3	5.3	0.0
5 - 10	12.5	0.0	25.0	28.0	62.5	72.0	0.0	0.0
10 yrs +	8.6	5.8	37.9	30.4	51.7	56.5	1.7	7.2

In Caersws there was a clear relationship between length of residence and attitude towards language retention (Table 25). However, in Llanon the pattern was not so clearly defined. It would appear from the figures that favourableness towards language retention is most pronounced amongst those who have lived in the area for five years or less, the combined percentages for categories one and two being 52.6% compared with 37.5% and 46.5% in the 5-10 year and ten years plus categories.

In Llanon the perception of linguistic decline was most marked in the older age group, 45.2% stated that the language was declining compared with 38.5% and 41.9% in the 18-44 and 45-64 age groups respectively. In Caersws the position was reversed, 61.1% of the 18-44 age group were of the opinion that the language was declining compared with 44.7% and 50% in the 45-64 and 65+ groups respectively. The reason behind the pattern in Llanon is fairly clear and essentially reflects the situation that the older members of the sample are able to compare the contemporary strength of the Welsh language in the community with a period when Welsh was spoken by virtually the entire

population. In Caersws in contrast it was the younger age group which tended to make the more realistic assessment.

Table 27. Perception of linguistic decline by age
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Declining</u>		<u>Remaining the same</u>		<u>Increasing</u>		<u>Don't Know</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
18-44	38.5	61.1	35.9	30.6	25.6	8.3	0.0	0.0
45-64	41.9	44.7	45.2	44.7	6.5	5.3	6.5	5.3
65+	45.2	50.0	41.9	38.5	12.9	11.5	0.0	0.0

Table 27. Perception of linguistic decline by occupation
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Declining</u>		<u>Remaining the same</u>		<u>Increasing</u>		<u>Don't Know</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Non-Manual	50.0	48.3	35.2	44.8	11.1	6.9	3.7	0.0
Manual	35.0	55.4	42.5	33.8	22.5	7.7	0.0	3.1

In Llanon 50% of the non-manual group were of the opinion that the language was declining in the area, compared with 35.0% of the manual group, similarly, 22.5% of the manual group felt that the language was increasing in strength compared with only 11.1% of the non manuals. In Caersws, in contrast, 55.4% of the manual group stated that they thought the language was declining while the comparable figure for the non-manuals was 48.3% (Table 27). In Llanon the heightened awareness of the condition of the Welsh language in the local area found in the non-manual group may possibly be due to the nature of non-manual occupations;

where English is generally considered to be the 'language of wider communication' and where (in the Welsh context) interaction between English and Welsh speakers is more likely to occur than in manual occupations. To some extent this is confirmed by the analyses reported above where Welsh speaking non-manual workers used the Welsh language less frequently in all domains (particularly the work domain) than manual workers, the latter group being, in effect, insulated from extensive contact with the English language. In Caersws a more realistic appraisal of the local linguistic situation was made by respondents in the manual group. Although the reason for this is not exactly clear the difference between the two groups may be related to the suggestion made earlier that the non-manual Welsh speaking group in Caersws displayed the features of a cultural elite; in the present context it is possible that their attachment to the Welsh language has led to an over-estimation of the contemporary strength of the language in the local area.

Table 28. Perception of linguistic decline by ability to speak Welsh - Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Declining</u>		<u>Remaining the same</u>		<u>Increasing</u>		<u>Dont Know</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Fluent	43.0	45.8	36.7	45.8	17.7	8.3	2.5	0.0
Some ability	60.0	44.4	20.0	44.4	20.0	11.1	0.0	0.0
None	29.4	55.2	64.7	34.3	5.9	7.5	0.0	3.0

In Llanon the awareness of linguistic decline was weakest amongst those who were unable to speak Welsh (see Table 28) and

highest amongst those with some ability. However, in Caersws 55.2% of those unable to speak Welsh stated that the language was declining, compared with 45.8% and 44.4% amongst those who were fluent in Welsh and those with some ability respectively. In Llanon, as was noted previously, non-fluent Welsh speakers are linguistically in a marginal position, in that they are in a sense associated with both linguistic communities. The implication in the present context suggests that this marginally enables this group to observe changes in linguistic usage in a more realistic manner than the two other linguistic groups located at the extreme points on the language spectrum. In Caersws the most realistic assessment of linguistic decline was made by the non-Welsh speaking group. This is essentially a reflection of the general linguistic environment where non-Welsh speakers are clearly in the majority and where to all intents and purposes English is the first and only language used in social communication.

Table 29. Perception of linguistic decline by length of residence - Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Declining</u>		<u>Remaining the same</u>		<u>Increasing</u>		<u>Don't Know</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
5 yrs	26.3	83.3	52.6	0.0	15.8	16.7	5.3	0.0
5 - 10	37.5	36.0	45.8	52.0	12.5	4.0	4.2	8.0
10 yrs	48.3	55.1	34.5	36.2	17.2	8.7	0.0	0.0

In Llanon the relationship between length of residence and perception of linguistic decline is well marked: those who have

lived in the area for a longer period are more aware of linguistic decline (Table 29), although the same group tends also to over-estimate the present strength of the language. In Caersws, it is amongst those who have lived in the area for the shortest period that the perception of linguistic decline is most acute. Thus, 83.3% of those who had lived in the area for five years or less stated that the language was declining, compared with 36% and 55.1% in the 5-10 year and 10 years plus categories.

4. A preliminary examination of subjective aspects of ethnic identification

The analysis contained in this section is based on responses to the following item: Do you primarily think of yourself as being Welsh, English or British? Clearly, this is a limited definition of the term 'ethnicity', however, it does provide a useful starting point for a preliminary assessment of ethnic identification. (14)

Table 30. Stated nationality of respondents in Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Welsh	67.3	81.0
English	7.9	2.0
British	22.8	15.0
Other	2.0	2.0

It is immediately apparent from Table 30 that the respondents in Caersws revealed a greater tendency to refer to themselves as being 'Welsh' than their counterparts in Llanon. The variation

may be partly accounted for by reference to the fact that 21.8% of the respondents in Llanon were born in England compared with 16% in Caersws. However, as Table 31 reveals, respondents in each place of birth category in Caersws reveal a greater tendency to refer to themselves as 'Welsh' than do their counterparts in Llanon.

Thus, in Llanon 82.1% of locally born respondents referred to themselves as being 'Welsh' compared with 84% in Caersws. In both areas respondents born in the same county revealed a greater tendency to call themselves 'Welsh', although this figure was lower in Llanon. At the other end of the scale, in Caersws, 43.8% of the respondents born in England now refer to themselves as 'Welsh' compared with only 22.7% in Llanon. This pattern, however, is also related to length of residence. Those respondents who had been resident in Llanon for five years or less showed a greater tendency to refer to themselves as Welsh (Table 31) compared with the equivalent category in Caersws. This pattern, however, is essentially a result of the fact that 52.6% of recent movers in Llanon were born in Wales compared with only 33.4% of recent movers in Caersws. In the two remaining categories the respondents in Caersws showed a greater readiness to call themselves 'Welsh' than the respondents in Llanon as the figures in Table 32 illustrate.

Table 31. Stated nationality by place of birth
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Welsh</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>British</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Locally born	82.1	84.0	0.0	0.0	17.9	16.0	0.0	0.0
Same county	83.9	89.1	0.0	0.0	16.1	8.7	0.0	2.2
North-mid Wales	60.0	90.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	10.0	0.0	0.0
South Wales	73.3	100.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	6.7	0.0
England	22.7	43.8	36.4	12.5	36.4	37.5	4.5	6.3

Table 32. Stated nationality by length of residence
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Welsh</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>British</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
5 yrs	42.1	33.3	21.1	16.7	26.3	50.0	10.5	0.0
5 - 10	62.5	80.0	8.3	4.0	29.2	12.0	0.0	4.0
10 yrs +	77.6	85.5	2.4	0.0	19.0	13.0	0.0	1.4

A similar pattern is found when ability to speak Welsh is cross-tabulated with stated nationality (Table 33). In each linguistic category the percentage of respondents in Caersws who refer to themselves as 'Welsh' far exceeds the equivalent value in Llanon. In particular 76.1% of the respondents in Caersws who were non-Welsh speaking referred to themselves as 'Welsh' compared with only 11.8% of non-Welsh speakers in Llanon. In terms of religion, in both Llanon and Caersws Welsh national identity was strongest amongst non-conformists, although in

all categories respondents in Caersws showed a greater tendency to call themselves 'Welsh' as Table 34 reveals. In both samples the 45-64 age group (Table 35) revealed a greater readiness to refer to themselves as 'Welsh', while in relation to occupation (Table 36) manual workers in Llanon more frequently stated their nationality as being 'Welsh'; in Caersws it was the non-manual workers who did so. However, in each age and occupation category respondents in Caersws were more willing to refer to themselves as 'Welsh'.

The results from this preliminary analysis of ethnic identification based on the admittedly crude indicator of national identity reveals that clear differences do exist between the two sample groups. In particular, in Caersws a higher percentage of respondents stated their nationality as being 'Welsh' than was the case in Llanon. This was found to be true virtually without exception regardless of language, religion, occupation, age, place of birth or length of residence. Ability to speak Welsh was most clearly associated with Welsh nationality. In Caersws the high value of 91.7% may be partly due to the fact that Welsh speakers form a minority within the larger population which may result in a greater sense of group cohesiveness and, by implication, ethnic awareness. However, this explanation would not account for the high percentages found in the remaining categories. In terms of religious affiliation and stated nationality, in both Llanon

and Caersws non-conformists were pre-eminent amongst those who stated their nationality as being Welsh, the highest value being recorded in Caersws. In both samples the reason for this pattern may possibly be related to the longstanding relationship which exists between non-conformity and the Welsh language. Thus, all non-conformists in Llanon were Welsh speaking while 55% of non-conformists in Caersws could speak the language. However, this would not account for the value of 90.9% recorded for non-conformists in Caersws (compared with 81.6% in Llanon) nor would it account for the higher figures recorded in the two remaining affiliative categories in Caersws. In both samples a higher proportion of the 45-64 age group referred to themselves as being 'Welsh' than in either the 18-44 or the 65+ groups. On the one hand this may be associated with the linguistic profile of this category (that is, in both Llanon and Caersws the 45-64 age group contained the highest percentage of Welsh speakers). On the other hand it may be related to a relative disinterest in questions of national identity in the younger and older age groups despite substantial proportions of both groups being born in Wales. Once again, however, this explanation would not account for the differences observed between the two samples. Finally, in both samples the responses associated with occupation closely follow the linguistic profiles of the respective categories. Thus, in Llanon the manual group contained both the highest proportion of Welsh speakers and the highest proportion of those who stated their nationality as being Welsh while in

Caersws these characteristics were exhibited by the non-manual group. However, in both occupational categories the highest percentage was recorded in Caersws.

In summary, therefore, these findings are clearly at variance with what might have been expected from the analysis of data at a purely aggregate level of resolution. Although by no means conclusive, the above analyses suggest that there exists a broader conception of identity, one which may be considered as being independent, or at least distinct, from considerations of a purely cultural linguistic nature.

Table 33. Stated nationality by ability to speak Welsh
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Welsh</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>British</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Fluent	81.0	91.7	0.0	0.0	16.5	2.2	2.5	4.2
Some ability	40.0	88.9	60.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0
No ability	11.8	76.1	29.4	3.0	58.8	19.4	0.0	1.5

Table 34. Stated nationality by denomination
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Welsh</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>British</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Anglican	65.2	81.6	13.0	0.0	21.7	18.4	0.0	0.0
Nonconformist	81.6	90.9	0.0	0.0	13.2	3.0	5.3	6.1
Do not attend	46.7	69.0	13.3	6.9	40.0	24.1	0.0	0.0

Table 35. Stated nationality by Age
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Welsh</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>British</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
18-44	64.1	75.0	10.3	2.8	25.6	19.4	0.0	2.8
45-64	71.0	92.1	12.9	0.0	12.9	7.9	3.2	0.0
65+	67.7	73.1	0.0	3.8	29.0	19.2	3.2	3.8

Table 36. Stated nationality by occupation
Llanon and Caersws

	<u>Welsh</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>British</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>	<u>Llanon</u>	<u>Caersws</u>
Non-manual	64.8	82.8	5.6	3.4	25.9	10.3	3.7	3.4
Manual	72.5	81.5	10.0	1.5	17.5	15.4	0.0	1.5

5. Concluding Comments

The present paper has attempted to illuminate two areas related to the general problem of language erosion and ethnic identity. The examination of language domains in the two communities led to the conclusion that for the Caersws sample the language situation could be described as being one of bilingualism without diglossia, whereas in Llanon bilingualism with diglossia was a more appropriate description. Even in Llanon, however, the figures suggest that there is the danger that Welsh speaking could become increasingly relegated to the home domain (and to a diminishing extent) with the implication that bilingualism without diglossia will eventually characterize areas within the linguistic heartland. This prognosis is to some extent given further support by the analysis of attitude towards

language retention and language decline.

In the final section it was suggested that 'Welshness' and Welsh speaking were related but distinct phenomena, insofar as the Caersws sample, in general, revealed a greater tendency to refer to themselves as 'Welsh' as compared with the Llanon sample. Admittedly, stated nationality is a crude indicator of ethnic identity, however, the analysis does indicate that being Welsh is no longer as simple as 'being born in Wales or being able to speak the Welsh language'.⁽¹⁵⁾ Indeed, Giles and Johnson have noted that although language can be a salient dimension of ethnicity, a distinct language is not necessary for the maintenance of ethnolinguistic distinctiveness.⁽¹⁶⁾ This view is further supported by De Vos who suggests that 'ethnicity is frequently related more to the symbol of a separate language than to the actual use by all members of a group'.⁽¹⁷⁾ Given the contemporary strength of the Welsh language it could be argued that the maintenance of a distinctive Welsh identity will become increasingly, and necessarily, dependent on a wider conception of ethnic identity, and now the sentiments expressed by John Cowper Powys at the beginning of this paper will become increasingly pertinent as the twentieth century reaches its close.

APPENDIX 1

	AS	A	N	D	DS
1. Every one in Wales should learn to speak Welsh.	5	4	3	2	1
2. Bilingual rate demands are a waste of time since every body speaks English.	1	2	3	4	5
3. There is a need for more hours of Welsh language T.V.	5	4	3	2	1
4. It is more useful for children in Wales to learn another European language rather than Welsh.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Everyone working for the local authority should speak Welsh.	5	4	3	2	1
6. Welsh people should not speak Welsh in the company of English people.	1	2	3	4	5
7. The compulsory teaching of Welsh in schools should be abolished.	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is a waste of time to learn Welsh.	1	2	3	4	5
9. English T.V., radio, newspapers, etc. have contributed greatly to the decline of the Welsh language.	5	4	3	2	1

The scale consists of the nine statements. The figures opposite each statement refer to the numerical weight associated with the following responses:

AS = Agree Strongly
A = Agree
N = Neutral
D = Disagree
DS = Disagree Strongly

In each instance a score of five is indicative of a favourable attitude. The scale consists of five unfavourable items (AS = 1, DS = 5) and four favourable items (AS = 5, DS = 1).

REFERENCES

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